

THE *Nation*

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Depression: Can the G. O. P. Block It?

by Fritz Sternberg

Asia Eyes Formosa

W. Macmahon Ball

Perjury or Heresy?

An Editorial

I'm Still Waiting

James Kutcher

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Around the U.S.A.



Soliloquy

Alfred, New York

IN THIS season of the sessions of investigating committees, my mind is full of the substance and shadow of violence and threat.

Ruin has taught me to meditate about the ambiguous upraised arm of the Statue of Liberty. In my present state of remembering things past I wonder whether the poised arm is potential blow or benison. Surely the most remarkable single intellectual fact of my life has been the hobnailed entry of investigating officialdom into the classroom. (Not enough people raised their voice against the robot captivity of the college president's office by the comptometer of the treasurer's office, a coup d'état that de-

posed scholarship and raised up warriors, politicians, and corporation executives to lead American education in the twentieth century—and so the bloodless revolution was successful.) As an undergraduate I saw teachers picked off the college roster by the do-or-die inspired investigating committees who were anticipating the judgment day of the god of history. Town versus Gown? Hardly. The State against Ideas. The horse hoofs of mounted policemen struck sparks of learning on campus streets.

De te fabula. . . . I am today in the shoes of the teacher whom I saw threatened when I was a learner. The flux of things creates the sensation of having been there before. I see graduate teachers I know of by their scholarly work, violated by dismissal, threatened by professional blacklisting. I am no longer spectator. I am of them. The men of ideas are being-pursued down the corridors of their school buildings by the hounds of conformity, by the wilful betrayers of the promise of the land we live in. The beacon of the American Enlightenment was almost snuffed out by the sneerers at the brain trust. Their laughter was epidemic, signifying the degradation of American intellectualism. More recently America has grinned at the discomfiture of the eggheads.

Behind the anti-intellectualism is the

repeated canard: "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." Gleefully the sentence is applauded and the sense of it enjoyed, and reprinted by corporate well-wishes and their incorporated hangers-on. The teacher in America is being debunked by legislative officialdom. The academic art of informing has changed to the technique of the academic informer of miraculous memory.

• But if the teacher has democratic vistas in his mind, let him be mindful of his own dereliction. For too long has the teacher of the humanities merely rehearsed the review-book lessons of Wycliffe's nonconformity, Chaucer's humanism, Montaigne's skepticism, Emerson's protest, Mill's liberalism, and Shelley's dissidence. We are in danger of losing the pamphleteering skill of Erasmus, Voltaire, Milton, Paine, and Thoreau. We suffer from too much vicarious liberalism. We have become a mutual-admiration society, hugging our books to our chest, knowing ourselves the saving remnant, fatalistically optimistic that it can't happen here in the land of promise. To realize freshly that the liberalism we teach has been well-intentioned toward the past but vicarious about the present is to reestimate our position and redirect our attention against officialdom that censors libraries and cashiers teachers, against the epidemic joy in the pejorative use of "brain trust" and "egg head," and against the conformists who misinterpret as accomplished the American promise of a world of free men freely examining the flux of ideas. The success of the American promise—we have a short but significant tradition—is the explicit assurance that the world will note and imitate what we have done here and what we now do here.

Reviving in himself the promise of America, the teacher will scorn to change his state with the conformists who curse his classroom bell, his library book, his midnight candle. And the upraised hand of the Statue of Liberty will lose its ambiguity of threat and be a sign of benison. And teachers will slough off the creased coils of violence and fear and stir themselves in the sun of the American promise.

MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

[The author is a member of the faculty of Alfred University.]

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The Shape of Things

Feints and Jabs

By a process that might be described as "sleight of tongue" the Administration seems to be moving toward a definition of its positive foreign policy. Several verbal feints have been made in the past week or so. For instance, at his first press conference, on February 17, President Eisenhower declared that the question of a naval blockade of Communist China had neither been brought up to him nor been studied in the proper sections of the government, "meaning," said William S. White in the *New York Times*, "those sections powerful enough to make high policy." Next day Secretary Dulles at his first press conference declared that measures to check the flow of goods to China, "one of which is a naval blockade," are under "intensive scrutiny" by the State Department. He did not say whether any particular actions had been decided upon, although he hinted that a further effort might be made at the U. N. General Assembly, reconvening this week, to get member states to cut off all commercial intercourse with China. Eisenhower and Dulles agreed on one point: that as fast as South Korean troops could be trained and sent into the line, United Nations forces would be pulled back.

As for President Eisenhower's promised repudiation of World War II "secret" agreements that had brought about the enslavement of peoples, it finally simmered down to a mild resolution rejecting "interpretations or applications" of those agreements which have been used to subjugate free peoples, and expressing the "hope" that such peoples would again enjoy the right of self-determination and self-government. As Senator Humphrey said, this resolution was "primarily public relations." But it was definitely not repudiation and as a result it caused far less worry among our European allies than did the President's original promise—or threat. But in the degree to which it reduced anxiety abroad it generated dissatisfaction among the Republican fireeaters in Congress. Regarding Mr. Eisenhower's failure to wipe out the results of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam as deplorable softness, they were ready as this week began to fight for a tougher resolution.

Only a few liberal Democrats spoke up warmly in defense of the Administration's version and for unity be-

hind the President! Foreigners can perhaps be excused for the air of puzzlement with which they often observe our political behavior.

Roll-Back Policy?

But however inconsistent and apparently shifting, the week's pronouncements from Washington added up to something. "The shape of things to come" began to emerge. Still vague, it looks like a scheme to avoid immediate dramatic acts in Korea or elsewhere which would engage larger American resources, further alarm our allies, and possibly drag Russia into the fight, while laying down a long-range strategic plan to challenge Soviet power on every front. Even the President's soft resolution establishes for the record a position from which he could launch almost any sort of "liberation" move.

Put together, the Formosa decision backed by increased aid to Chiang, the preparation of South Korean forces for a major role in the war in the peninsula, the plans for building up of a stronger Vietnam army with a native officers' corps, the rearming of Japan, the urgent threat-plus-plea for European unity and quick action on the European army agreement, the new emphasis on psychological warfare, all fit into a single frame—a frame whose outlines were lightly roughed in by the President's resolution. It seems to add up to a strategy which would make nonsense of any further talk about negotiated agreements with Russia.

Just Another Day

John L. Lewis, last of the "big three" labor leaders, celebrated his seventy-third birthday on February 12. No special event was planned, the news stories said, it being "just another day" in the busy life of the president of the United Mine Workers. And so it was, in a sense, for Mr. Lewis issued a statement urging approximately 120,000 U. M. W. members in West Virginia to give all-out support to Governor William C. Marland's important tax program. West Virginia's new thirty-five-year-old governor is himself an ex-miner and was elected last fall with the active support of Mr. Lewis and the coal miners of the state. By levying a severance tax on the state's natural resources, Governor Marland hopes to raise \$18,000,000 in new revenue to be earmarked for high-

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 177
Perjury or Heresy? 179

ARTICLES

- A European "Legion"
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 181
Depression: Can the G. O. P. Block It?
by Fritz Sternberg 183
Asia Eyes Formosa:
Ike Worries His Allies
by W. Macmahon Ball 185
G. O. P. Money:
Will It Be Hard or Soft?
by Bruce Catton 187
I'm Still Waiting:
Four-Year Loyalty Case
by James Kutcher 188
Proposals for Peace—VIII by Lord Cecil 189
BOOKS
Evolution Has Evolved
by Joseph Wood Krutch 190
New Books in Brief 191
THEATER by Harold Clurman 192
FILMS by Manny Farber 193
MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 194
LETTERS 195
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 505
by Frank W. Lewis 196
AROUND THE U. S. A.
Soliloquy
by Melvin H. Bernstein opposite 177

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Next Week

- Our Foreign Policy and the United Nations
Canada's Coming Elections
Camus vs. Sartre: France's Great Literary War

ways and schools, including West Virginia University's medical school.

Of the \$18,000,000 sought the soft-coal industry would pay, on the basis of 10 cents a ton, a total of about \$14,500,000. The rest would come from lumber, oil, gas, limestone, sand and gravel, brine, and other resources. Mr. Lewis points out that the tax can be charged against the cost of production and deducted from federal income taxes.

Hearings have opened in Charleston, and a lively legislative battle is shaping up on the issue. If enacted, the measure would provide an attractive blueprint for other states which like West Virginia have suffered from the uncompensated exploitation of their natural resources by absentee industrialists. Hale and hearty at seventy-three, Mr. Lewis apparently feels that the best way to celebrate a birthday is to support a measure which, if enacted, will contribute, as he says, to the well-being of "each member of our union, his family, his neighbors, and his fellow citizens."

Transforming Social Security

In giving wide distribution to reprints of an article by A. D. Marshall, manager of the Employee Benefits Department of the General Electric Corporation, which appeared in the December, 1952, issue of *American Economic Security*, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has laid down the opening propaganda barrage in its campaign to transform the present social-security program. The chamber's plan is cleverly baited. Old-age federal insurance coverage would be immediately extended to include not only all the gainfully employed but the aged destitute, who now receive locally administered old-age relief. At the same time federal grants for old-age relief would be eliminated. The catch in the plan consists in the proposal that current benefits and the taxes required to pay these benefits should be brought into approximate balance. Under the present form of financing, payments into the fund currently exceed withdrawals, but the amounts withdrawn are certain to increase in the future as more and more persons reach the eligible age for pensions. The effect of the proposal, therefore, would be to eliminate the current reserve fund and the interest it earns, with the consequence that the rate of future contributions would have to be increased. The chamber is thus endangering the stability of the whole social security system.

Two-Punch Attack

Two articles in this issue (Fritz Sternberg's on page 183 and Bruce Catton's on page 187) present fascinating complementary aspects of the new G. O. P. fiscal policy. Taking the long view, Mr. Sternberg argues that within a few years there will be a decline in the high

current levels of both defense spending and private capital investment. This, he says, will bring about a threat of depression which an unimaginative G. O. P. is likely to try to avoid by again stepping up the dangerous business of gun-building. Mr. Catton, watching day-to-day developments in Washington, in effect says that Mr. Sternberg is already proved right in at least one respect: the stage is being set for a reduction in private investment through an increase in interest rates.

It is, of course, too early to draw conclusions, but it looks as if the Republicans were in there again with their aggressive two-punch attack: *wham*, deflation; *wham*, inflation.

Colorado Bucks the Tide

It is encouraging to note that at least one legislative body has turned thumbs down on a proposal to investigate the schools. Under pressure from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, the Colorado School Protective Association, and a handful of individuals including the ever-busy Robert Donner, millionaire "angel" of countless ultra-rightist causes, the Colorado state senate recently adopted a resolution calling for an investigation of textbooks and teachers. The vote was close—seventeen to fifteen. Of the eight senators from Denver—five Democrats, three Republicans—only one, a Republican, voted for the probe. In the lower house both Democrats and Republicans condemned the proposal as a "needless costly witch hunt," voiced annoyance with groups that blame the schools for every evil in society, and pointed out that under the state constitution local school boards, not legislative committees, are responsible for the selection of textbooks and teachers. With only one legislator speaking in favor, the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

We're Entitled to the Title

The best type of propaganda, of course, is the partisan pill coated with the sugar of objectivity. Thus William A. Eddy, in a letter to the *New York Times* chastising Israel for various alleged offenses against the United Nations, signed himself as "Former United States Minister to Saudi Arabia." Mr. Eddy was indeed minister there from 1944 to 1946; what he neglected to mention was that he has since become a consultant on Arab relations with the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). ARAMCO owns the Saudi Arabian oil concession and the pipe lines which originate there and run through Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, all of which depend for their smooth operations on the good-will of three of the four Arab countries which immediately adjoin Israel.

Put into this perspective, Mr. Eddy's disapproval of Israel is altogether understandable, even if it bears little

relation to the facts. The ethical question remains whether anyone has the right to attach a former government title to opinions expressed in the interests of a commercial firm. Or does Mr. Eddy believe, after the pattern set recently by another distinguished American, that what is good for ARAMCO is necessarily good for the United States?

The Last Mile

Nothing that President Eisenhower said in his statement denying clemency to the Rosenbergs has convinced us of the wisdom or justice of his decision. Apart from certain weaknesses in the case, even their assumed guilt does not, for reasons we have previously pointed out, justify the death penalty. It has lately been argued in various quarters that the Rosenbergs deliberately forfeited the opportunity to win commutation of their sentence by refusing to "cooperate" with the government. Had they "talked" they could have saved their lives. In our view this is a bargain that should not be offered once a trial is over and the sentence pronounced. For a doomed couple to be put under such pressure to force confession savors of totalitarian justice in a peculiarly cruel form. Either the circumstances justify execution or the penalty should be reduced.

As Judge Kaufman stayed execution again pending another appeal to the Supreme Court by defense counsel, the White House, in the course of a single week, received nearly 15,000 letters protesting the penalty. Many of them were from Western Europe. It is too easy to dismiss such letters as Communist-inspired when even the soberly conservative *Gazette de Lausanne* of Switzerland speaks of certain "disturbing facts" in the case, including what it terms the "scanty content of the treason" charged against the defendants.

If the sentence is carried out, we predict that the President will live to regret his decision.

Perjury or Heresy?

THE motion recently filed by Owen Lattimore's counsel to dismiss the seven-count indictment charging him with perjury raises, with remarkable clarity, a major public issue: the perversion of the judicial process through the attempt to punish political beliefs, opinions, and attitudes as crimes against the state.

A perversion of the judicial process is implicit in the circumstances which finally resulted in Lattimore's indictment. Senator McCarthy's privileged statement that Lattimore was "one of the top Communist agents in the United States" had, in the atmosphere of the times, the effect of a grand-jury indictment. The Tydings committee investigated the charge and found it to be "a

fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people"—in effect a verdict that Lattimore was "not guilty" as charged. One might have thought that this would end the matter, but the principle of double jeopardy has of course little relevance in political prosecutions. So the McCarran committee, after a five months' study of the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, summoned Lattimore and questioned him at great length in executive session.

The committee then held a series of open or public hearings which lasted from July 25, 1951, to February 21, 1952. During this period, while the press was being fed a carefully timed and spaced collection of "sensational" disclosures, Lattimore vainly sought an opportunity to get his side of the story before the public. When he was finally given a chance to testify, six months after the open hearings started, the committee prevented him from making the same effective presentation he had been permitted to make before the Tydings committee. He was cross-examined for twelve days—the longest interrogation of one witness in the history of Congressional inquiries—and was hardly able to get in a word of direct uninterrupted comment. He was told to answer questions, not to think, and his counsel was repeatedly instructed that he was not to speak until spoken to. At no point was Lattimore given a chance to confront or cross-examine the witnesses against him or to examine documents on the basis of which he was being minutely questioned. He was asked about letters, events, and conversations dating back over a period of fifteen troubled and chaotic years. Although there was no perceptible order or sequence to this interrogation, the questions had been carefully written out in advance, so one must assume that the purpose was to trap him into possible perjury rather than to bring out the facts. At the end of the hearing the committee solemnly found Lattimore "guilty," though not of the offense originally charged by Senator McCarthy, and this "verdict" precipitated his indictment.

BY ANY common-sense reckoning, therefore, Lattimore was tried twice and twice acquitted of being a Communist, a Communist spy, or a Soviet agent before he was finally indicted for perjury. Both "trials" took place before presiding officers who were not judges and were conducted by committee counsel who have yet to be designated prosecuting attorneys. No jury was ever sworn or questioned as to its competence to hear the case. Should Lattimore actually go to trial on May 11, the original charge will long since have been forgotten. Thus his third "trial" will be for the curious purpose of determining which of the Congressional committees that heard the case reached the correct conclusion.

But the perversion of the judicial process is more strikingly revealed in the nature of the counts upon which Lattimore stands indicted. In a prepared sworn

statement to the McCarran committee he had said that he was not and never had been a Communist, a Soviet agent, a sympathizer, or any other kind of promoter of communism or Communist interests. He is now charged with having falsely denied that he was ever "a sympathizer or any other kind of promoter of communism or Communist interests." Perjury, of course, consists in testifying to the truth of a fact that the accused does not



believe to be true. But the first count raises an issue of opinion rather than fact. The issue it raises is literally incapable of objective proof or disproof for it turns, in the last analysis, on the integrity of Lattimore's judgment of his own beliefs and attitudes. It might more properly be determined by a psychoanalyst than by judge or jury. If the count is not dismissed, it will mean that for the first time since the heresy and witchcraft prosecutions of another day American citizens can be tried, in a criminal case, for statements of opinion and belief. It will also mean that anyone in public life who has advocated policies or expressed opinions with which a Congressional committee does not agree can be questioned concerning his opinions and then indicted for perjury because the committee does not believe that he has honestly described his own state of mind or, more crudely put, because the committee thinks he should be punished for believing what they think he believes. As his counsel pointed out, what the government is seeking to accomplish by Lattimore's indictment is its right to enforce the power of a Congressional committee to make "an unrestrained, abstract, and limitless inquiry into an individual citizen's political frame of mind."

The perversion of established judicial procedures is even more obvious in the light of the Sixth Amendment's requirement that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right . . . to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation." What is a "sympathizer"? What are "Communist interests"? Did President Roosevelt promote Communist interests when he furnished Lend-Lease to Russia? Did General Marshall promote Communist interests when he criticized Chiang Kai-shek's government? No bill of particulars could possibly cure the vagueness of the indictment's first count. As well anticipate what Senator McCarthy is likely to charge next

as to try to anticipate what kind of evidence will be offered to support a charge as vague as this one.

The other counts in the indictment are based on trivial discrepancies, of which two examples will have to suffice. Lattimore had denied that he knew that one Ch'ao Ting Chi was a Communist. In drawing up an indictment on this count the grand jury not only rearranged the order of his testimony but ignored this significant passage: "Whether Dr. Chi is a non-Communist expert working under the Communists, or whether he is a Communist, I don't know." The committee kept insisting that anyone who "collaborates with Communists for the furtherance of Communist purposes" is a Communist; Lattimore as steadily insisted that this definition made little sense. Another count has to do with his identification of one "Asiaticus" as a "left-winger," perhaps a Socialist, when the committee insisted that, by their standards, Asiaticus was a Communist. Pressed to give a yes or no answer on the basis of the committee's definition, Lattimore reluctantly but clearly stated: "*I think* the answer would be 'No'." Apart from their triviality these and similar discrepancies are not shown to have been "material"—in the sense of having a bearing on any legislation which the committee might have recommended.

But the pettiness of the discrepancies and the failure to demonstrate their relevance is of minor importance; what is serious is the manner in which the indictment perverts the purpose of perjury prosecutions. The perjury sanction, as Dr. Clark Byse has pointed out,* is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end, which is to protect the investigatory process. The current fashion, however, is to use perjury prosecutions as a means of avoiding the difficulties of proving a charge of espionage where no evidence of espionage exists or, as in this case, as a means by which statements of political belief can be punished although they could not be constitutionally proscribed.

On the outcome of the motion to dismiss the indictment against Lattimore hinge issues of fundamental importance. If the indictment is dismissed, it will mean that the attempt to punish political beliefs has been momentarily halted at a shadowy and uncertain ideological frontier on the other side of which the defendants in the Smith act cases are imprisoned. But should the indictment stand, it will mean that it is no longer safe for anyone to express his political views at a Congressional hearing.

**University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, January, 1953, p. 485.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

A European "Legion"

THE latest idea for defeating Stalinist Asia is to let the Asians do it by creating an "Asian Legion." Various American specialists in Far Eastern affairs have estimated the forces which can be drawn upon for such a body at some 19,000,000 in the non-Communist Asian countries. A "European Legion" would be both smaller and more difficult to achieve, but the idea has been gaining in popularity.

There will be no lack of money. A 1951 amendment to the Mutual Security Act, sponsored by Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, was the first official step taken toward financing political organizations to fight communism both inside and outside the Iron Curtain. The amendment earmarked \$100,000,000 for aiding people who escape or wish to escape from the Soviet Union

and other Communist countries and enrolling them in the defense system of NATO. Provision is also made, though less explicitly, for aiding active subversion behind the Curtain. In the most violent speech he made at the Sixth Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, Vishinsky asked the Assembly to condemn the amendment as an "aggressive act." Then and on other occasions the Soviet Foreign Minister presented evidence intended to show that the real aim of the amendment was "to finance and encourage the formation of 'battle formations' within the Soviet Union and the countries of its orbit."

Official aid is, however, only half the story. Large grants have been made by private American organizations to carry on both open propaganda and secret, conspiratorial activities. Such agencies

as the National Committee for a Free Europe and the East European Fund are functioning in broad daylight. The East European Fund is a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation; it gives scholarships to refugees and helps them find homes, jobs, and so on. The Fund considers itself "non-political"; however, it has contacts with other "friendly organizations" which may be less so. The National Committee for a Free Europe, with headquarters in New York's Empire State Building, is a voluntary group formerly headed by C. D. Jackson, publisher of *Fortune*, who has recently been appointed by Mr. Eisenhower as Presidential adviser on psychological warfare.

Some of these agencies have offices throughout Western Europe and organize conferences and rallies. According to

information put out by the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, the following organizations took part in a large conference held in Wiesbaden, Germany: the League of Struggle for People's Freedom, the National Labor Alliance, the Russian People's Movement, the Union of Struggle for the Freedom of Russia, the Georgian National Council, the North Caucasian Anti-Communist People's Alliance, and the Byelorussian Democratic Republican Council—all national and political in character.

The political leaders of the embryonic European Legion are given abundant opportunities to present their views through the Voice of America and other American radio stations broadcasting from Europe, such as RIAS (Radio in the American Sector) in Berlin and Radio Free Europe in Munich and Frankfurt. Radio Free Europe, which is financed by the Crusade for Freedom, has specialized in broadcasts to Eastern European countries other than Russia. At first Moscow did not take the Voice of America broadcasts too seriously. But as can be seen from the Department of State *Bulletin* for December 22, 1952, American propaganda has become a much more potent weapon since those days. In December, 1952, "60 per cent of our total radio effort and a good two-thirds of all our facilities" were devoted to "the European countries east of the Iron Curtain and to China." The Voice makes considerable use of reports by refugees from Communist areas, presented as interviews or as direct broadcasts. These may be stories of personal sufferings or appeals for desertion and rebellion. The Voice naturally regards it as a victory that, according to H. Wilson Compton, recently resigned head of the International Information Administration, in Bulgaria "Communist government officials had to turn off electricity in rural areas" to prevent the people from listening, while in "Albania and elsewhere those who have radios are under constant surveillance."

It is not easy to estimate what actual part the Voice of America has played in the thousands of escapes from Iron Curtain countries reported monthly by Western intelligence services. But there are some cases which prove its claims. Thus the twelve Polish seamen who stormed the bridge of their mine-

sweeper, locked up their officers, and brought their ship into the Swedish port of Ystad, told port officials that "their mutiny was inspired by United States broadcasts."

However, in the opinion of European leaders of the anti-Communist crusade, the Voice of America is the most inno-



cent and ineffectual part of it. They are placing their hopes on the "active groups" working within the various countries. Some of these are doubtless recruited from disaffected native elements; members have also been smuggled across the frontiers in disguise, or have entered illegally, by parachute or other means. The leaders regard the present period as one of training and preparation; "active groups" are to intensify their operations and become a true underground when the international situation grows more critical.

It is true that the efficiency of many of these groups is impaired by the cold war which they are waging among themselves and which has sorely tried the patience of Admiral Kirk, General Bedell Smith, Mr. Allen Dulles, and others who have tackled the herculean task of creating political harmony among them. They are united only in their anti-Communist passion. Apart from that they represent innumerable conflicting tendencies, ranging from old-fashioned monarchism through fascism to the many minute subdivisions of the anti-Communist left. In most of the national committees, however, the extreme reactionary, intransigent elements have come out on top. In the context of cold war this was inevitable. Unreconstructed Nazis, Iron Guardists, fascists of every vintage give tone and impetus to the movement. Many committees are nothing but fronts fabricated to draw off American money for the benefit of

the people in charge. None the less, it would be a serious error to underestimate the contribution of these groups to the anti-Soviet crusade or their capacity to turn the American people into enthusiastic supporters of such a crusade.

I attended last summer the Annual Conference on American Foreign Policy held at Colgate University. The panel that attracted the greatest interest was devoted to examining "Soviet vulnerabilities at home and the possibilities of exploiting them." The star of the day was Alexander Kerensky, who, even when speaking English, fully justifies his fame as an orator. In fact, such was the confidence with which he and other speakers discussed ways and means of destroying "from within" the Soviet government and its satellites that the former American Minister to Hungary, Nathaniel P. Davis, felt called upon to pour cold water on the exalted hopes of speakers and audience. And this happened last summer, before President Eisenhower had made his American Legion speech and before Secretary Dulles had described the "peaceful" methods—including sabotage and weapons dropped by parachute—available for restoring the freedom of the "enslaved lands."

As for the actual "liberation" of the Red satellites, James Burnham, who has assumed the role of major strategist of the crusade, has presented his views in a new book, "Containment or Liberation." Mr. Burnham declares himself in favor of decisive action by America to destroy Communist power regardless of the reluctance or opposition of the other members of the Atlantic coalition. "The leader of the coalition," he writes, "should be ready to welcome every ally but should not depend on one." Still, he maintains that an active policy of subverting and undermining the Communist strongholds can be carried out without the risk of a general war. "Those strong actions that have been taken since 1947 have not brought on a general war, though some of them, as in Greece, Korea, and Turkey, have been in themselves *undeniably provocative* [italics mine]. From Moscow's point of view, a mass revolt in a part of her empire, capable of spreading like fire in the dry season, is hardly a happy moment for starting a general war."

Needless to say, the Germans occupy

a position of honor in the plans of all the promoters of a European Legion. Last October the West German authorities became alarmed at the activities of "a rightist radical underground organization whose members were trained as partisans to fight the Russians"—but who were more privately prepared to liquidate German Socialists, liberals, and Communists. According to the Associated Press, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, Bavarian Minister of the Interior, stated that the organization "had contacts with the Americans." More recently and more sensationally, the arrest by the British of the Naumann group, based on the Ruhr

city of Düsseldorf, revealed the proportions which the Nazi conspiracy was assuming. The magnitude of the help given to the new Nazis by the Ruhr magnates was especially surprising.

Some people, I know, think that if the West fails to enlist these Germans to fight on its side against Russia, the Russians may get them to fight against the West. This, of course, is possible. But I was living in Germany in the early twenties, and I can remember the German right's successful flirtation with Russia at that time—it was carried on by the pro-Russian aristocrats grouped around Count Reventlow and the officers

grouped around General von Seeckt. Nobody felt happier about this flirtation than the Machiavellian leaders who directed the destinies of the German Communist Party; but some of them lived long enough to see the German army invade Russia in 1941 to the applause of those Germans who had used their overtures to Moscow as a form of blackmail to force concessions from the West.

Whatever the future may hold for the European Legion, its actual and potential members and their activities today are one more obstacle to a peace by negotiation and one more factor working for war.

DEPRESSION

Can the G.O.P. Block It? . . . by Fritz Sternberg

TWO factors are primarily responsible for our current prosperity: the increase in military expenditures and the continued high level of private capital investments. Forecasts differ in detail, but most business men and economists agree that it is unsafe to assume that both factors can continue to operate indefinitely.

It is on the basis of this calculation that some quarters expect an economic recession as early as the second half of 1953. Others set the date at 1954 or even 1955. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the board of the General Motors Corporation, for instance, declared recently that "while armament will determine the levels of work and employment to a degree, other factors indicate a period of economic adjustment in 1954 or 1955. . . . Business cannot continue its vast spendings for capital goods." On this point Mr. Sloan finds support among several economists who for a long time worked closely with President Truman's economic advisers.

FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of the widely discussed book "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial." It is soon to be published in France, Yugoslavia, and Japan.

One of these economists, Professor Gerhard Colm, states in his unusually readable book, "The American Economy in 1960":

If defense spending should level off or contract at the same time as business investments are on the downgrade of the cycle, a serious recession would develop. . . . It is possible that an economic downswing might begin even *before* defense spending is reduced, if business should begin to curtail inventories and reduce investments. . . .

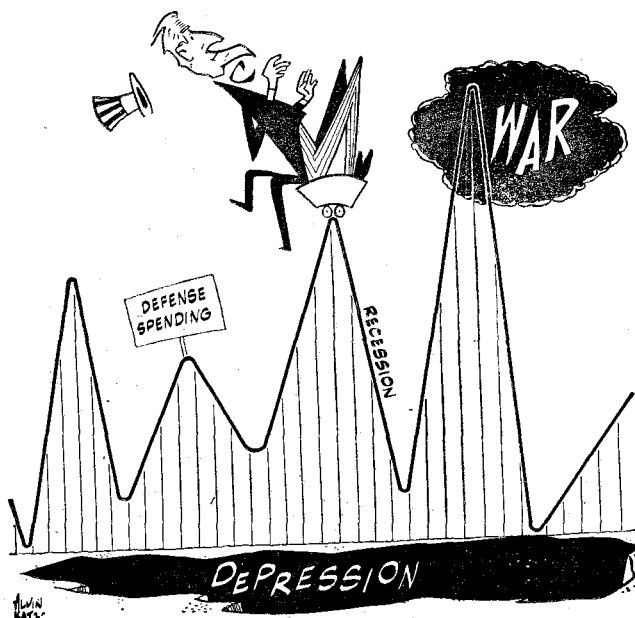
Thus we have no assurance that a further rise in defense spending may not lead to renewed inflation (unless counteracted by a stronger stabilization program). Nor have we any assurance that a contraction in defense spending may not coincide with, and aggravate, a downturn in the business cycle (unless counteracted by an effective recovery program).

Some circles brand as false or exaggerated the fear that a decline in military spending may lead ultimately to a crisis. The following argument is adduced: In 1953-54 military expenditures will presumably not decline more than \$15,000,000,000; in 1945 at the war's end, they fell by many times that amount. If no crisis eventuated in 1945-46, why should it now?

To refute this argument it is necessary to emphasize the differences between the

present situation and that which existed at the end of the war. True, military spending did decline severely then; Professor Colm points out that between 1945 and 1947 federal spending was reduced by \$110,000,000,000 (in 1951 dollars), and production declined by \$50,000,000,000. Despite these drops, unemployment rose by only 1,600,000. This relatively small effect on employment can be explained by the extensive use of overtime during the war and the retirement from the productive process of several million war-time workers—old people, youngsters, and women. Today the situation is entirely different. There is less overtime, and the young, the old, and women are not utilized nearly so much as during the war. Professor Colm rightly states: "If total production should drop from 1952 to 1954 by 14 per cent—that is, the same percentage by which production dropped from 1944 to 1946—a considerable rise in unemployment, probably beyond the margin of an acceptable rate, would be inevitable."

There are other points in which the situation today differs materially from that at the end of the war. At that time the decline in military expenditures was to a great extent made up by increased



But What If We Get off the Track?

expenditures for consumer goods and by a rise in private investments. Today the danger lies precisely in the possibility that there may be a simultaneous decline of military spending and private investment. It was this danger that persuaded two economic advisers to the Truman Administration, Messrs. Keyserling and Turner, to devote considerable space in a recent report to policies which they said would be needed to sustain prosperity. "Some time beyond the horizon of the immediate outlook," they wrote, "the predominant economic risks to be counteracted may be deflationary rather than inflationary." To combat an impending recession they propose what is in effect another New Deal program.

However Mr. Clark, the third economic adviser to Truman, has gone on record against Keyserling's and Turner's interpretation, rejecting outright the substance of their proposals and declaring that it was not yet necessary to deal with the question. Considering the make-up of the present Administration and of the Congress, it is entirely possible that no serious effort will be made to prevent an economic recession.

Once a recession starts, however, it is clear that the government will have to do something. "There is today a general recognition," writes Professor Colm, "that in case of a serious recession the government would have to adopt positive counter-measures. While there can be no insurance that such measures would be adopted promptly enough to prevent a recession, at least they can be

sooner than it did during the depression which started in 1929. Unlike the Russia of 1929, the Russia of today ranks second in the world as an industrial power, and any sustained weakening of the United States would automatically strengthen it. Moreover, to the countries of Western Europe, an American depression would be a body blow whose effects would be much more severe than those of the 1929 depression. There was no such thing as a dollar gap then, nor was all Western Europe, including England, in debt. Today the area's debts exceed all its capital assets beyond its borders, and it has been suffering a dollar gap since the end of World War II. Thus a depression now would hit a Continent incomparably more vulnerable than it was in 1929, a Continent which is able to maintain its foreign trade and balance of payments only with American aid.

One must reckon, too, that in the event of a recession the American foreign-trade sector would itself be particularly sensitive. "The Economic Cooperation Administration has estimated," writes the London *Economist*, "that when United States consumption falls by 4 per cent, its total imports fall by about a quarter and its imports from the sterling areas by about a third. According to a recent United Nations estimate, a fall of only 4 per cent in the level of American employment might increase the world dollar gap by as much as \$10,000,000,000 a year." Britain has larger gold and foreign-exchange stocks than, say, Germany, but even Britain's

expected to prevent a recession from developing into a deep depression." Similarly, Mr. Sloan has said, "It is clear that the people will never again accept the hardships of a severe depression ... they will, in desperation, demand something different—sound or unsound."

International as well as domestic considerations will probably impel the government to take counter-measures

position is much more vulnerable than it was before World War II, as the United Nations "Economic Survey of Europe" for 1951 clearly showed:

... there are several reasons why even minor disturbances now have serious repercussions on international payments ... one important reason is that exchange reserves have not yet recovered since the war to a point commensurate with the great increase in international prices and the volume of international trade from the pre-war to the post-war period.

Thus during the 1938 recession exports of the sterling areas as a whole to the United States fell by more than one-third in volume and by almost 50 per cent in dollar value, compared with the 1937 levels. ... These movements, however, gave rise to no serious alarm; even after this decline the United Kingdom's gold and dollar reserves were still almost equal to the total imports of the entire sterling areas from the dollar area and from Western Europe during the year 1938. By contrast, at the end of 1951 the gold and dollar reserves of the United Kingdom, although still well above the low point reached in September, 1949, were equal to only about one-third of the total value of the sterling area's imports from the dollar area and Western Europe during the year.

Granted, then, that a sustained American recession could bring grave danger to Western Europe—and to Japan, too—and thus deal a serious blow to our foreign policy, the question arises: How shall a recession be combated? Or, to use Mr. Sloan's phrase, how will an "adjustment" be brought about?

A government in the Roosevelt tradition would presumably answer with a new New Deal which would reach even more deeply into the American economy than the original did. For the original was never able to liquidate unemployment entirely. A new New Deal would no doubt attempt to meet the challenge set forth by Professor Colm:

... in the transition from an economy of rising defense expenditures and rising defense investments, consumption must rise not only in absolute terms but also percentage-wise. ... As about two-thirds of personal income consists of wages and salaries, the adjustment to the lower level of defense spending and defense-supporting investments requires that the aggregate wage and salary receipts increase in this period slightly more than the rate of growth of the economy.

The employment of state powers to increase wages and mass consumption, however, is not likely to be the path

which the Eisenhower Administration will follow. In theory two other possibilities remain: first, expansion of the Point Four program; second, another increase in military expenditures.

It is virtually impossible, as things stand, to expect a Point Four program which will be large enough to counterbalance a strong recession. Present plans call for an annual reduction of \$15,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000 in military expenditures; in contrast, Point Four expenditures for 1953 amount to only a few hundred million dollars. There is nothing to indicate that either the Administration or Congress is ready to expand Point Four spending by the ten or twenty times that would be necessary to take up the slack. Even if the will were there, it would be simply impossible to increase the Point Four program suddenly from a few hundred millions to the necessary billions.

Yet intervention in any world economic crisis would have to be quick, and, to repeat Mr. Sloan's comment, "the people will in desperation demand something different—sound or unsound." Thus pressure will undoubtedly

arise for a renewed increase in military expenditures.

Reasons for such a policy would not be hard to find. When military spending began to climb with the advent of the Korean war, it was argued that negotiation with the Russians was possible only on the basis of our own military strength, and that in any case we must catch up militarily with the Russians. Some experts believe that we shall attain military equality with the Soviets in 1954 or thereabouts. But advocates of renewed military spending will argue: why should we stop with a fifty-fifty ratio? Why not create a sixty-forty ratio which would give us overwhelming military advantage? After all, the United States today produces more than three times as much steel as the Soviet Union. With this steel we could build up military production to the point where we could increase our strength in both Europe and Asia.

These could be persuasive arguments when backed by increasing unemployment and decreasing wages on the domestic front. Certainly they will sound more persuasive to the policy-makers of

the present Administration than would any New Deal measures, which they would put into effect only reluctantly and on a small scale if at all.

The dangers of such a policy are obvious. For one thing, it could lead us another step nearer to war. The long-range economic effects could be disastrous. It is difficult enough to shift away from a military budget of \$50,000,000,000 or more; it would be much more difficult if military spending were to rise to \$80,000,000,000 or more.

It is not impossible that the first signs of an economic recession will become perceptible during the months immediately preceding the 1954 Congressional elections. Those who oppose renewed military spending as a cure for a recession must lay their plans now. The New Dealers among the Democrats, the trade unions, the economic experts who have already recognized the dangers which lie ahead must avoid the error of waiting for the recession to come. It will be too late then. In contrast to what is likely to be the Eisenhower policy, the opposition must plan not merely to combat a recession but to prevent it.

ASIA EYES FORMOSA

Ike Worries His Allies . . . by *W. Macmahon Ball*

Melbourne, Australia

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S decision on Formosa may not produce any quick or dramatic change in the local military situation, and it may have wider consequences of a sort that he can hardly desire. It seems likely to obscure or obliterate the moral credentials of the United Nations in East Asia, to deepen suspicion and hostility between East and West, to put new strains on Western friendships, to increase the risks of a third world war.

As a security organization, the United

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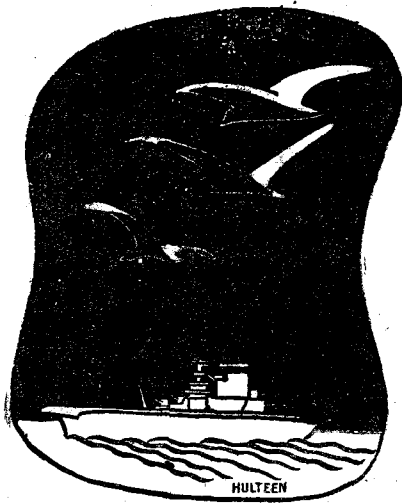
Nations was founded on two simple and clear principles: that its decisions would be joint decisions and that they would have only one aim—to prevent or resist aggression. The U. N. was not established to suppress any particular ideology or to promote the strategic interests of any one nation. On Formosa General Eisenhower clearly made a unilateral decision, without consulting his allies in South Korea. Yet it is ridiculous to contend that what the United States does about Formosa is entirely its own business, while what it does about Korea is the United Nations' business. Whether operations are carried out from Korea or from Formosa, they are part of the same campaign, and every country supporting the United Nations in Korea is

directly implicated in America's Formosa policy.

Here, then, is the basic question for the U. N. Is the U. N. to be restored to its original design—to act only after consultation and agreement, to work only for collective security—or is it to take a different shape? Is it to become a power bloc made up of nations driven by the fear of communism to identify their own national interests with those of the United States and to accept and support Washington decisions on all major international issues? There need be nothing illogical about such an arrangement. If you believe that militant communism is an immediate threat to everything you treasure, dwarfing all other dangers, that your only defense is

the possession of superior physical force, that America is the only country able to maintain or acquire this superior force, then it is doubtless sensible to subordinate everything else to increasing the force at America's disposal. In these circumstances the strategic interests of the United States and of the new United Nations will be identical.

The fear of communism has been the main factor keeping so many nations aligned with the United States. But it is doubtful whether this fear by itself could long supply the United States with sufficient reliable allies. For American political leaders the fear of communism is the master fear. For some of the peoples whose support America desires it



is hardly a fear at all; for others it is only one fear among others. Despite the repression, the executions, and the imprisonments in Communist China, it is doubtful whether the Chinese people could be brought to fear Mao Tse-tung more than the return to power of Chiang Kai-shek. It is doubtful whether the Annamese could be brought to fear permanent victory for Ho Chi-minh more than a permanent victory for the French. The masses of East Asia cannot be easily excited about the need to defend the democratic freedoms from Communist tyranny. They want only food and shelter and peace.

This, perhaps, is the most important consideration of all: that for many millions in Asia and Europe the fear of war is greater than the fear of communism, whereas for many Americans the fear of communism is greater than the fear of war. Asians and Europeans are not interested in the promise of liberation after

the next war; they are only interested in averting war. They must accordingly be convinced that each step in America's policy, besides strengthening America's military position in the event of war, will increase the chances of averting war. And from the purely military standpoint it should always be remembered that the force available consists not merely of weapons and bases but of men who are ready to fight and die. And men will be ready to do that only if they believe in their cause. Moral leadership is not less important than material leadership. It may be unwise to ignore the conscience and the judgment of your friends, to count too confidently that fear and want will always bind them to you. If henceforth critical international decisions are to be taken by the United States alone and not by the United Nations, the military position of the non-Communist world will hardly be strengthened.

The decision to enable and encourage the Chinese Nationalists to strike at the mainland is an application of General Eisenhower's principle that if fighting has to be done in Asia, Asians should fight Asians. The trouble about this policy is that the regimes backed by America—regimes dominated by Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dai—are regarded everywhere in Asia as Western puppets drawing their nourishment not from the soil of Asia but from American dollars. In the eyes of an ordinary Asian it is one thing for a Western country to send a gunboat or an airplane to enforce its will—Asians are used to that; it is another thing to try to set brother against brother, father against son. That is to assault the soul as well as the body of Asia.

The tragic conflict between Asia's need for America's economic help, combined with its fear of communism, and its need for solidarity is perhaps nowhere so stark as in Japan. Japan's business leaders, who control its political leaders, not only fear communism but would face something like immediate economic disaster if American procurements, part of America's "positive" military policy in East Asia, should dwindle or disappear. Yet they know that, in the long term, Japan's economy is hardly viable without trade with China and Manchuria. And they know that, in the short term, the best they could hope for

from a war would be American "liberation" after all their cities had had a stronger taste of what Hiroshima and Nagasaki experienced in 1945. That is why Japan is such a reluctant ally.

If the Chinese Nationalists in Formosa launch hit-and-run attacks on the mainland, if they try to blockade the mainland ports, Peking can be expected to retaliate. And it is reasonable to assume that the Communists could hit Formosa harder than the Nationalists could hit the mainland. What then? Are the Chinese Nationalists to be considered expendable in the interest of the "free world"? Such a policy would not encourage other allies. Presumably American forces would do all in their power, by sea and air, to protect "democracy's stronghold" in Formosa. My own country is directly concerned here, since under the ANZUS pact any attack on American shipping or aircraft in the Pacific is to be considered a threat to Australia's peace and safety and we are obliged "to act to meet the common danger."

It may well be that General Eisenhower does not plan any assault on the China mainland by American air or sea forces but hopes to restrict the new operations to Nationalist raids that will divert Communist forces from Korea and the Indo-China frontier. This surely is to underestimate the intelligence of Chiang Kai-shek. He will not make attacks on the mainland just for the fun of it or out of gratitude for American aid. Chiang will regard these attacks merely as the first steps toward overthrowing the Communists and reinstating himself in China. He knows that he could never conquer the Communists with his own forces, that only America has the military power to shake Peking. It is therefore clearly to his interest to widen and deepen the conflict, to exploit every chance to involve America in full-scale war in China. In no other way could he conceivably be returned to power. Chiang's attitude toward war and peace has been clearly revealed in his official utterances during the last eighteen months. Whenever there has seemed a chance of the truce talks producing an armistice, the Kuomintang has shown acute anxiety.

To help and encourage a man whose future depends on extending the war seems an odd way to try to end the war.

G. O. P. MONEY

Will It Be Hard or Soft? . . by Bruce Catton

Washington
YOU always have to look around a corner to see where this Administration is going, and even then you can't be quite sure. Right now, for instance, government policy seems to be moving in two directions at once—toward deflation and also toward a new round of deficit-financing inflation.

The deflationary signs are the clearest and the most ominous. Take the Treasury Department's recent decision to increase interest rates in the refinancing of its short-term bonds. About \$9,000,000,000 of one-year certificates are maturing. These are held largely by banks, insurance companies, and other big investors and serviced at present at $1\frac{7}{8}$ per cent. Under the Treasury program they can be exchanged for securities with longer maturities bearing interest of from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

As an immediate effect, this will increase the government's interest payments by something between \$40,000,000 and \$50,000,000 a year. As a secondary effect, because the rise in the annual debt-servicing charge will have to be offset, it will necessitate either higher taxes—in a regime sternly pledged to cutting the tax rate—or counter-balancing reductions in government expenditures elsewhere. Such reductions will obviously be made in the welfare sections of the budget. Since it is the lower-income brackets of the population that benefit from the welfare expenditures, and the higher brackets that benefit from the bond-funding program, this adds up to a neat redistribution of income in favor of the well-to-do.

In addition, it could very easily happen that the rise in government interest rates would raise rates in other fields—specifically, in the view of many competent judges, in the field of hous-

ing. At the present time the Federal Housing Administration insures mortgages carrying an interest rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. When one-half of one per cent is added as an insurance charge, the rate is $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. F. H. A. participation in the mortgage market is now up to about one-third of the total, and in general the rest of the market follows the F. H. A. rate fairly closely. Incidentally, it could quite logically be argued that F. H. A.-insured mortgages are in such demand that rates ought to be lowered. Mortgage bankers and home builders, however, have been pressing for higher rates, on the plea that it is hard for the consumer to get financing under present rates and that this fact is a serious block in the way of a bigger building program. Mortgage interest rates are now likely to follow the example set by the bond-funding operation and increase approximately one-half of one per cent.

The Eightieth Congress, which was not given to radical judgments, estimated that the country needed a million new homes a year for at least a ten-year period. Since then, private building has proceeded on just about that level, which means that the country still needs from four to five million new homes. A rise

of one-half of one per cent in the interest rates on enough long-term mortgages to build five million homes could add up to a fairly sizable piece of change.

It could also add up to a heavy load on the building industry—enough of a load, taken in connection with other factors, to start a real slow-down in private building, which is a key element in maintaining the general level of the national economy. Coupled with this is the fact that farm income is seriously off, and that the new Administration appears to be driving for a general shake-down that would encourage a continuation of the decline. As an added factor, the rising curve of military expenditures is flattening out.

The situation is further complicated by the enormous pressure for substantial tax reductions, pressure which the Administration was unable to block on the first round; the House Ways and Means Committee triumphantly voted a 5 per cent cut in individual income taxes. However, in his first press conference last week the President reiterated his opposition to any tax cut this year. But the pressure is there, and the situation is worth a little study. The excess-profits tax is due to die by mid-year, and the most anyone has suggested to date is that it be extended for another six months. An Administration as much influenced as this one by the boys who would gain by the lapse of the excess-profits tax is not too likely to keep it. It should also be remembered that the 11 per cent income-tax rise voted because of the Korean emergency is due to die at the end of the year, and it is all but impossible to imagine a Congress letting the excess-profits tax die and keeping the rise in general income taxes.

If all this happens—and it is a fairly good bet, as of now, that it will—something like \$5,000,000,000 will be lopped off of the government's income. That could mean open and avowed deficit financing, despite Republican campaign

Republican Economy

Though nothing has been printed about it, the Republicans moving into Washington are complaining bitterly about the low government salaries, high cost of living, and niggardly expense and travel allowances. This is true of everyone from high officials and Congressmen down to the smaller job-holders. Men accustomed to normal business expense accounts find their new \$9-a-day travel allowance ridiculous. Look for pressure to change all this.

—*Newsweek*, February 9.

BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

February 28, 1953

pledges. It is perhaps worth noticing that some of the economists most concerned about the prospect of a general downswing of the economy are ready to welcome such a step. Whatever else might be said about it, they argue, it could offset the deflationary trends.

The most likely outcome, however, would be ferocious pressure on the welfare sections of the national budget. Significantly enough, on the same day that the House Ways and Means Committee voted to cut individual income taxes the House Appropriations Committee knocked out a request for \$24,000,000 for federal aid to schools. Practically the whole sum was subsequently restored by the House, but the committee's action shows what will be tried.

One of the Eisenhower Administration's first acts, it will be recalled, was an order calling for close review of all federal construction projects and specifying that any not crucially necessary or substantially under way should be cut off short. A number of things could be affected, notably Bureau of Reclamation undertakings in the West amounting to \$300,000,000. The fact that Congress may have authorized a project and voted money for it makes no difference. The pruning knife is out and is certain to be used if the present drift away from a balanced budget continues.

Beyond all of that, of course, there would be a revival of neo-isolationist pressure for sharp curtailment of foreign aid. A really serious drop in govern-

mental income would give that pressure tremendous power.

Unfortunately, the Administration really believes its campaign propaganda, down to the last inspired syllable. It really believes that enormous savings can be made by cutting from the government pay rolls the people whom Secretary of Commerce Weeks recently referred to delicately as "dead wood and poison oak" and that business methods can bring lower taxes, a balanced budget, and no particular cut in any important government operation. Because it believes these things, it can start down the paths of inflation and deflation at the same time with a light heart. Where it will finally land cannot even be guessed.

I'M STILL WAITING

Four-Year Loyalty Case . . by James Kutcher

THE wheels of justice turn slowly in "loyalty" cases. In 1948 I started out to regain the government job I had lost under the "loyalty" program. Proceeding through the designated channels of appeal, my case went successively before a branch loyalty board, the head of my government agency, the federal Loyalty Review Board, which covers all government agencies, a federal District Court, and a Circuit Court of Appeals. All ruled against me except the last.

The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled unanimously on October 16, 1952, that my discharge from a clerical job with the Veterans' Administration in Newark four years before was improperly effected and must be reversed. The American Civil Liberties Union, which had entered a brief in my behalf as

amicus curiae, called the decision a "notable victory." And so it was, for this was the first time any court had ever ruled against the government in a "loyalty" case. Nevertheless, I am still barred from my job, and it may take another four years of litigation and appeal to obtain a final legal settlement. Laymen who wonder why I was not automatically reinstated by the court's decision do not understand the obstacles encountered by people fighting for civil rights. Let me explain a few things about the process.

In asking the court to restore my job with back pay, my lawyers had raised a number of basic questions: (1) Is President Truman's "loyalty" program, set up by Executive Order 9835 in March, 1947, constitutional, or does it violate government employees' rights of free speech, press, and association? (2) Does the Attorney General have the power to issue a list of "subversive" organizations? (3) Can such a list legally be issued without affording the organizations concerned a chance to answer whatever specific charges are brought against them? (In 1951 the Supreme Court, in ruling on the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee

Committee case, rebuked the Attorney General for putting organizations on his list without a hearing.) (4) Does the Socialist Workers Party, membership in which was the sole reason for my discharge, properly belong on such a list?

In addition, my discharge was challenged on the technical ground that it violated the standards of the President's executive order. One part of that order stated that membership in a blacklisted organization was to be regarded as "simply one piece of evidence" in determining the loyalty of employees, and that the decision was to be based on "all the evidence." The branch loyalty board on whose recommendation I was suspended in October, 1948, asserted that it had considered all the evidence, although it had refused to hear any argument on the question of whether or not the Socialist Workers Party was actually subversive. I appealed this ruling to General Carl Gray, Jr., head of the Veterans' Administration. Before he acted, the Loyalty Review Board issued Memorandum 32, informing all government agencies that it was "mandatory" for them to discharge all members

THE CASE of James Kutcher, legless veteran of World War II, has been making news for the past four years. The Socialist Workers Party is a fusion of Trotskyite groups which split off from the Communist Party in 1929; it is bitterly opposed to the Stalin regime.

of the Socialist Workers Party and of four other organizations declared to be seeking "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." General Gray then ruled against me, saying the memorandum left him "no choice." The Loyalty Review Board, to which I appealed, affirmed General Gray's decision. Unlike the original branch loyalty board, it made no pretense that it had considered "all the evidence." When I appealed to the federal District Court in Washington, Judge Edward M. Curran held that the reason General Gray gave for ruling as he did was "immaterial," and I had been fired in a proper way.

The Circuit Court of Appeals based its opinion largely on this procedural question. It decided unanimously that Memorandum 32 was invalid because it conflicted with the provisions of the "loyalty" order. It told General Gray that he had no right to discharge me on the sole ground of my membership in the Socialist Workers Party, and that he was required to consider "all the evidence." But the court's reversal of my discharge did not automatically mean my reinstatement, since it simultaneously left standing, pending further action by General Gray, the order that had suspended me in October, 1948.

On the bigger issues the court either refused to take a position or favored the government. It expressed no opinion on the constitutionality of the "loyalty" program, evidently taking that for granted. It ruled that while membership in a listed group could not be cited as the sole reason for discharging a federal employee, it might serve as the basis for "disbelief in the loyalty of an employee," justifying his discharge when the authorities stated they had considered all the evidence. It also reaffirmed its previous decision in the Dorothy Bailey case—upheld by a four-to-four vote by the Supreme Court—that the Attorney General's list was "competent evidence" and that loyalty proceedings "do not require the constitutional and traditional safeguards of a judicial trial."

And so, after four years, I am still suspended and facing the possibility of going through the same arduous process all over again. General Gray can no longer fire me solely for my membership in the Socialist Workers Party. But he can fire me on this ground if he ac-

companies his decision with the statement that he has considered "all the evidence," even if all the evidence consists of nothing more than my membership. The voiding of Memorandum 32 is a notable but by no means complete victory in this fight for civil rights.

I have been able to carry the fight this far because my case has received exceptionally widespread support from the American people. Shortly after I was suspended, a number of prominent citizens formed the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee to help me. Through this committee and the national speaking tours it arranged for me, nearly 800 labor, liberal, civic, religious, veterans', and minority groups were enlisted on my side. With their aid I was able to raise the almost \$5,000 already used for legal expenses alone. (This figure, I should explain, is the absolute minimum necessary for such expenses; my lawyers, believing that important principles are at stake, have charged only what they had to spend.)

Unhappily many persons are not so fortunately situated. Some accused government employees are reluctant to air their case in public by reason of their personal or family position. Others have not succeeded in obtaining financial aid and have not had such public-spirited lawyers to handle their appeals. Is it any wonder that most of them resigned when first accused, and that virtually none carried their appeals beyond the administrative stages and into the courts? Is there any doubt that the prolonged and costly procedure in "loyalty" cases has worked hardship on many innocent persons? A favorable decision in my case will help them.

Four years ago I said that I was appealing my discharge not only to regain my job and clear my name but because I feared that the "loyalty" purge, unless militantly opposed, would spread far beyond the confines of government employment. These fears have been confirmed by the growing effort to impose thought control on the American people; many who were then complacent about what was happening to government employees have since themselves felt the blows of McCarthyism and McCarranism. The need for all believers in the Bill of Rights to join in defense of the civil liberties of all becomes more acute every day.

Proposals for Peace

VIII

BY LORD CECIL

ALL civilized mankind hates war, and most of its governments desire peace. Therefore an institution like the United Nations to foresee and avoid international misunderstanding should be of great service, and we should all support it. But the Charter, as settled at San Francisco, went farther than this. It set up a kind of super-state, with elaborate machinery to enable the five chief powers which won the Second World War to enforce its decrees. That was going too far, even if the chief powers had been unanimous. But as we know they were not, since Russia has adopted a materialistic philosophy inconsistent with Christian civilization. We have merely to look at such a farcical horror as the recent trials at Prague to see how far Russia has drifted away from the principles which have guided the rest of the civilized world for so many centuries.

What, then, must be done? I think we must give up the idea of an international body with power to force all nations to accept its decisions and substitute the conception of a body which will make, by majority, recommendations in international matters, it being understood that all who voted for such recommendations would do their best to see that they were carried out.

That may seem to some a retrograde step. But I believe it is the best we can do at present. Joint action by sovereign nations can only succeed so far as they are agreed. In other words, international peace can only be attained by enabling the peace-loving nations to take the steps necessary for it and not by trying to force them to do things which they do not believe will make for peace. In the meantime it is no doubt necessary to carry through such rearmament as may be needed to prevent successful aggression by the materialists.

LORD CECIL has made the establishment of peace the dominant purpose of a long and distinguished career. He was president of the League of Nations Union from 1923 to 1945 and is honorary life president of the United Nations Association. In 1937 he won the Nobel peace prize.

BOOKS

Evolution Has Evolved *by Joseph Wood Krutch*

EVOLUTION IN ACTION. By Julian Huxley. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

THAT the grandson of Charles Darwin and the grandson of Thomas Huxley should have published almost simultaneously very different books about evolution is a picturesque coincidence ("The Next Million Years," by Charles Galton Darwin, was reviewed in *The Nation* for January 24). It is also something more, for it illustrates very neatly the whole paradox of the present status of the famous theory which one grandfather put scientifically on its feet and the other forced down the throat of an unwilling generation.

In so far as it is merely "a description of what happened" or a mere statement that plants and animals did "evolve," that theory is so firmly established that there is little risk in calling it not a theory but a fact. On the other hand, the "how," "why," and "in what manner" are all very disputable indeed, and the moral, philosophical, social, and political implications of what we know or think we know become more so with every passing year. As scientists the grandsons may—and as prophets they certainly do—disagree more violently than the grandfathers could have imagined. Evolution is far more firmly established but a great deal harder to understand than it seemed in their day.

This is partly because many of the detailed facts which have been accumulated since 1859 make it impossible to believe that the mechanisms and processes involved are as simple as they once appeared to be. On the one hand, the inheritance of acquired characteristics has come to seem impossible, and that catch-all "sexual selection" not so capacious as was assumed; on the other hand, the whole concept of mutation, unsuspected by Darwin, as a source of usable

variations, has acquired more and more importance. If Lysenko's "Michurinism," like the Lamarckism so exuberantly championed by Bernard Shaw, is, as Huxley puts it, definitely "out" on the basis of solid evidence, quite a number of subtle hypotheses are dubiously but at least possibly "in"—including Lloyd Morgan's "organic selection," which may produce phenomena that could easily be mistaken for the inheritance of acquired characteristics. To bring the reader up to date in such matters as these is one of the two main purposes of Huxley's book; and there is no writer for the general public who can be more safely trusted to be, himself, well abreast of the most recent work in his field. The other main purpose is obviously to explore as cautiously as is compatible with holding any opinions at all the metaphysical as well as the practical implications of what seem to be the facts.

By way of background the reader should remember that "The Origin of Species" had hardly appeared before the most portentous imaginable of such inferences began to be insisted upon with all the dogmatic assurance which the new prestige of science encouraged. Pretty continuously ever since, the phrase "evolution proves" has been used to demand acceptance for such remote inferences as the benefits of violent, unrestrained, wholly egotistical competition and the inevitability of "progress" under such conditions or, alternately, the almost magical efficacy of social cooperation—*vide* the ants—and, as in Sir Charles Galton Darwin's book, the impossibility of any significant "progress" within at least the next million years. In the heady excitement produced by the new field opened for speculation few stopped to ask even for a definition of terms or noticed, for instance, that in the magic formula concerning "the survival of the fittest" it was assumed that "fittest" meant "fittest to survive" and that therefore the whole phrase was reduced to the empty statement, "Those survive who survive."

Perhaps partly because the orthodox

defenders of religion and morality attacked the whole theory so vehemently, the first philosophical conclusions which its proponents drew were frequently the most brutal possible. Evolution was supposed to prove not only that the law of the jungle was the only law of progress but also that, since its processes were completely fortuitous, random, and mechanical, nothing could possibly change them. Thus a sort of Calvinism to which dialectical materialism merely supplied a supplement was reestablished by the authority of science, and the whole concept of "meaning," as well as the whole concept of "purpose," was relegated to the realm of myth. The brilliant but also egregious Haeckel formulated "laws" quite recklessly and described the history of the universe with the assurance of an eyewitness to everything which had happened since the earth first cooled. Evolution was rapidly becoming not a theory, or even an established theory, but a dogma.

Against all this, various neo-Lamarckian heresies attempted to protest, often, as in the case of the Bergsonians, in the name of metaphysics rather than by the methods of what had become orthodox science. Meanwhile, however, science itself was becoming a little less sure that the final word had been spoken. The process of evolution was turning out to be so much more complicated than was first supposed that at a very minimum science had to admit that we do not know exactly how they work, that possibly, even, we might have to confess, much as the physicists are now confessing in connection with their problems, that the very adjectives "mechanistic" and "determined" become meaningless when used to describe certain processes so complicated and so subtle as to lie now, if not forever, beyond the human mind's powers of analysis.

From the beginning of his distinguished career as a biologist Huxley has been acutely aware of doubts and unsolved problems. A generation ago the title of his little book "What Dare I Believe?" revealed clearly enough a positive desire to escape from the dismal grip of materialistic determinism if it was possible to do so by any method less drastic than a pure act of faith in defiance of all available evidence. With the years he has become, if anything, more cautious, more careful not to rely

MR. KRUTCH, former drama critic for *The Nation*, is now living in Tucson, Arizona. He will continue to contribute book reviews and other articles to the *Nation*.

on speculation rather than the methods of physical science, or at least to be fully explicit in distinguishing between the two. Nevertheless, in this most recent summing up a principal stress is again upon the incompleteness of our knowledge and upon those aspects of what we do seem to have learned which encourage optimism and in one way or another suggest that the mechanism of evolution—if you still insist upon calling it that—is one which transcends the limitations of what we generally mean by the term “mechanism.”

Some of the dangers which Huxley sees ahead are the ones emphasized by Sir Charles Galton Darwin. He believes it to be, for instance, an established fact that “industrial civilization favors the decrease of the genes concerned with intelligence” or, to put it bluntly, that the average intelligence of the population is definitely sinking. Like Darwin also he believes that, as he phrases it, “human fertility is now the greatest long-term threat to human standards, spiritual as well as material.” But unlike Darwin he believes also that human purpose may prove possibly effective when it intervenes in the evolutionary processes.

To believe that, you must of course first believe that “human purpose” is or can be something distinct from what the random processes of evolution have made inevitable, that “free will” is real in some sense, however difficult to understand that sense may be. And the freshest part of his whole discussion is that which is concerned with this possibility. “We have often been guilty of the fallacy of mistaking origins for explanations. . . . We have tended to misunderstand the nature of the difference between ourselves and animals. We have a way of thinking that if there is a continuity in time there must be a continuity in quality.”

Though he never uses the once popular term “emergent evolution”—perhaps because he is anxious to stay as closely as possible within the limits of orthodox biology—he does nevertheless speak of the “emergence of new properties” even in matter, and his intention is obviously to suggest that in man himself powers which include some kind of autonomy have definitely emerged and are novelties either in the sense that they never existed before or at least in the

sense that they were never before fully effective. “The development of animals is always closed; their evolution is always restricted. Man’s individual development, on the other hand, is potentially open.”

It is this last affirmation which Sir

Charles Darwin denies most categorically or at least categorically declares to be meaningless unless one thinks in terms of time longer than that represented by a mere million years. For the pros and cons the two books might well be read together.

New Books in Brief

Watch Miss Cicellis

NO NAME IN THE STREET. By Kay Cicellis. Grove Press. \$3. A first novel of penetration and power by a young Greek writer whose short stories have appeared in a number of British *avant-garde* publications. Miss Cicellis, by her own admission, learned her parents’ tongue at the age of nine, “but by then it was too late for Greek to become *my* language.” It is as well, for new writers who have something to say and try to say it with sincerity and a grasp of the *métier* of the novelist are rare in English and American fiction today.

The story of a few crucial days in the life of her hero, Gregory, a middle-class Athenian youngster about to be sent to Germany to make his way in industry, is taut and meaningful. Gregory’s desperate desire to identify with some group, some family life, some memory, even, evokes the bewildered, bitter harassment of youth. Kay Cicellis is not limited, however, to delineation of characters near her own age. One of her finest and most believable creations is the elderly exiled bank clerk, Richter. A writer of compassion who has both style and conviction, Miss Cicellis’s work should find a growing audience.

Academic Tragi-Comedy

THE STONES OF THE HOUSE. By Theodore Morrison. The Viking Press. \$3.50. Urbane, witty light novel of academic life by the fifty-year-old Harvard professor and poet. The story concerns the tragi-comedy of a college president who is not sure that he wants, or likes, his job. Supporting cast includes an ugly secretary with an insatiable yearning for love; a neurotic professor of philosophy who is attacked as a Communist; a perennial undergraduate, now an alumnus and would-be trustee, who is dreadfully normal. The series of small academic dramas which keep the story

moving are set in that decade of history when the Republic has fathered “an Oriental proconsul” and a stubborn little President has just cashiered him. But the novel’s expression, sensitive and mature, is superior to its content, which is a trifle unreal throughout. The academic types are viewed as perfect prep-school gents. The feminine portraits are used either for purposes of satire or a brand of domestic mysticism in which the sexual urges of Mr. Morrison’s hero have conquered even the tedium of a perfect marriage. If the early tone of the story is reminiscent of Ellen Glasgow, the conclusion is straight out of J. P. Marquand’s romances, and too glossy for anything but pleasant reading.

The Story of One Prisoner and Her Friends in the Federal Penitentiary for Women

INSIDE

by Helen Bryan

Inside is the only firsthand account ever published of a term in the federal women’s penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia. It is written by Helen Bryan, a Presbyterian minister’s daughter, college graduate and social worker, who was serving a three months’ sentence. Her report is not only a moving description of an overwhelming experience, but also a unique contribution to the literature of penology.

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James Boyd's Stories

OLD PINES AND OTHER STORIES.

By James Boyd. North Carolina. \$3. Known chiefly as a writer of historical novels, in particular that excellent novel of the American Revolution, "Drums," James Boyd was also a poet and a short-story writer of solid merit. The stories in this volume are sharp, pungent, revealing. They are also "old-fashioned" in method; each one, with a firm grip on realism, develops a believable situation to a logical end. Boyd was not afraid of horror and suspense, nor did he dodge sentiment. The stories in "Old Pines" were well worth bringing together both for their general interest and as a representative sampling of the work of a talent that was cut off much too soon.

Oceans and Moth Eggs

WATER. By Thomson King. Macmillan. \$3.50. Here, in condensed and readable form, is all you want to know about this indispensable and all-pervasive element, from the ocean and its inhabitants down to dowers and dew ponds. Although the book touches too lightly on too many subjects, it can be recommended for the many curious items of information the author has collected, as, for example, that the carpet moth which drinks no water lays eggs with an 80 per cent water content.

Actor in the Grand Style

PRINCE OF PLAYERS, EDWIN BOOTH. By Eleanor Ruggles. Norton. \$4.50. An unusually lively account of the greatest of "the mad Booths" with something about his eccentric father, Lucius Junius, and about his assassin brother, John Wilkes. Edwin himself was probably the last of the long line of actors in the grand style who carried on a tradition never wholly broken as it was passed from Burbage to Betterton, to Garrick, to Kean, and so on down almost to our own day. He was certainly a more colorful figure than his English rival, Henry Irving, and he had more fire. Miss Ruggles assures us that the faint wax record of his voice is enough to prove that the magic was real, and she does a good job of convincing the reader that the old-timers who still boast they "saw Booth" really did have a unique experience. Besides being vivid, her narrative is based on extensive

research and includes some new material. Probably the best as well as the most entertaining life of a man who was enough of a person to make a book much richer than the usual biography of an actor. But it is odd that the author, who does not usually avoid the colorful, should identify the man for whom Lincoln's assassin was named merely as "the parliamentary reformer." This is surely the mildest designation ever applied to that rake-hell and radical, the original John Wilkes.

Poe and Baudelaire

BAUDELAIRE ON POE. CRITICAL PAPERS. Translated and Edited by Lois and Francis E. Hyslop, Jr. Bald Eagle Press. \$4. It is generally admitted that Edgar Allan Poe's international reputation and influence were both launched by the translations and critiques published by Baudelaire in the fifties and sixties. The present volume is the only one in which the critical articles are available in English, and it includes a

valuable introduction recounting the strange story of Baudelaire's conviction that the American poet had somehow anticipated the processes of his own mind. Actually of course the two men were not quite so nearly identical as Baudelaire imagined, since Poe was as much Victorian as he was decadent and might well have been shocked by the "Fleurs du Mal." But what Baudelaire found in him was really there and Poe in fact was the inventor of the *frisson nouveau*. To this day Europeans see him largely through Baudelaire's eyes, and it is probably for that reason that they assess him without making the discounts which American critics usually do. If Poe had lived in Europe and therefore in a different literary atmosphere, he might possibly have founded the decadent school. As it turned out, Baudelaire founded it for him, in his name and with his aid. The phenomenon is one of the most curious in literary history, and it cannot be documented without the material in the present volume.

Theater

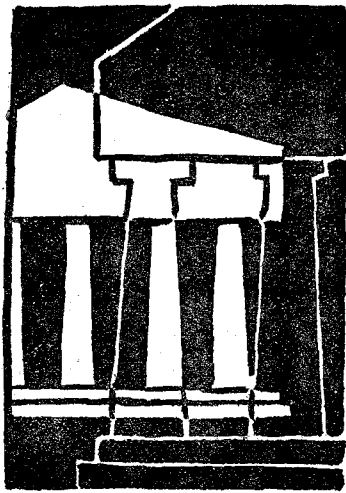
Harold Clurman

PAUL OSBORN'S "On Borrowed Time" (Forty-eighth Street) is a folksy fantasy about the old man who decoyed Death up an apple tree. The play achieved considerable success here in 1938 and was a surprising failure in London. The failure in London was a puzzle to everybody—the play being genial and tender.

Finding myself rather less amused at the revival than the first time I saw the play, and not at all touched—though by no means bored—I wondered whether there wasn't a difference between the American and the English attitude toward death. Americans in the theater are willing to be saddened by thoughts of death when death is softened with kindly tears or shrouded in heroic ceremonies, but our audiences dislike thinking of death as a fact of life. For us death must be something romantically spectral, sepulchral noble, or something so friendly and nice as not to seem to exist at all.

In the Osborn comedy death is a gentleman who means no harm, doing his slightly mysterious job like a decorous process server. If one is clever enough one might elude him, but when one yields to the necessity of letting him do his duty, one finds that one has been summoned to a realm more ineffably sweet than life itself.

I probably would not have thought of the play in this light—no one else does or should—if the playing of it in the present revival were more poetic, charming, tongue-in-cheek, or frankly sentimental. But it is only plain. Victor Moore is perfectly cast as to "type." He is, moreover, a consummately sure and effortless performer. His is the acme of "naturalness." In short, he is everything but interesting. We get very little from him here except the impression of his deftness. Dudley Digges, who played the part originally, worked harder and was not as authentically small-town American, but he had a complete artistic



objective in view, whereas Moore simply plays the "notes," but the "notes," even perfectly delivered, do not add up in this case to a captivating spirit.

Some years ago Ben Hecht wrote the scenario for a picture called "Nothing Sacred." It was praised by certain sophisticates, but it was a box-office flop. The reason for the praise was the picture's satirical intent aimed at the crass commercialism of our publicity makers. A country girl who is reputed to be dying of radium poisoning is taken up by a big magazine and sensationally displayed for public pity. The reason for the flop was that a dying girl as the central figure of a lampoon shocked the picture audiences—even though it found out that the girl was taking advantage of her supposedly morbid condition to have herself a good time. The picture was a failure because—aside from the audiences' revulsion at its suggestion of horrid death—its satire was just as crude and unfeeling as the thing it was presumably deriding.

Someone conceived the idea of making the story into a "rowdy" musical. The resultant show, "Hazel Flagg" (Mark Hellinger), is sick to the core. The work of the talented show people involved in its making is deficient in all departments. I found no mitigation of the misery in the material in any of the performances, tunes, lyrics, dances, costumes, girls—though I felt that in his manner and appearance Jack Whiting brought on with him a certain air of the twenties that was almost nostalgic.

I approve of the performance of Stephen Vincent Benet's "John Brown's Body" (Century) without really caring for it. The French have their *matinées poétiques* at the Comédie Française

where verse masterpieces are simply recited. Why shouldn't we give our poems more elaborate dramatic readings? Such readings must take on added stature when the poem, as in this instance, is related to our country's history. Most Americans—those who go to the theater at any rate—seem to have very little genuine feeling for our national past. There is something worthy and dignified, therefore, about the unconscious aspiration which is satisfied by the performance of such a work as "John Brown's Body."

As a poem it is craftsmanlike, intelligent, honorable, and easy to take. But it lacks personality and point of view. It is a highly respectable literary gloss on traditional memories and ready-made reactions. It has no real story and no true characters. Its pathos depends on its associations, not on what it creates itself. There are narrative passages which—apart from the distinction of the writing—are reminiscent of old-time Civil War movies. The outstanding bit in the first section is a literal quotation from John Brown, and another excellent piece

which describes the anguish of Lincoln's self-doubt is also partly quotation.

When "Don Juan in Hell" was read with naked directness, it struck us not only as dramatically cogent but in every sense good theater. The special effects, offstage noises, and choral aid repeatedly used in "John Brown's Body"—like the sound of marching feet when they are mentioned in the text—are so naively illustrative that for a moment I feared when there was a reference to the smell of a girl's hair that the aroma was going to be wafted through the theater by some novel device.

Though "John Brown's Body" attempts to picture fateful events and evoke epic sentiments, the effect of the whole is mainly genteel and basically conventional. I should have been happy to respond to a bid for raw patriotic emotion, but here I felt as if the inspiration of a high-school assembly were being made palatable and fashionable through the use of the sleek skills of Tyrone Power, Judith Anderson, Raymond Massey, and director Charles Laughton.

Films

Manny Farber

HUSTON'S "Moulin Rouge" is packed with crunchy songs, French taste in clothes, and picturesque people, but the quality of its color is its most striking attribute. The dramatic use of filtered camera effects and off-key tonalities re-creates on film the heated, hazy quality of French Impressionist painting. When the dwarf Toulouse-Lautrec painfully picks his way out of a Montmartre bistro, the scene is the studied abyss of a blue-green interior, with hot accents (geranium red, acid yellow) in the foreground and scrub-women carefully spotted for a dash of human content. In some instances actual paintings are "staged," reproducing everything but the vein of casual objectivity that lay at the core of Lautrec's work. Other shots capitalize on canvas-worthy things like Zsa Zsa Gabor's spun-glass skin next to the starchy texture of her white and orange costume, the paint-spattered derby Lautrec wore

while painting, the ambling grace of a Negro dancer who seems to move on nothing more solid than space, and the can-can girls who dance with their whole bodies instead of just their legs. In this fascinating visual arena the heavily blurred atmosphere seems to have drained the characters of realistic personalities, leaving the decorative details of the composition to compete for interest. In fact, Huston has crowded such an attractive world around the subject of this biography—such surging impressions of Parisian activities—that you never get a good line on the artist himself.

Mainly, this is the fault of an unworkable script in which the double dose of romance given Lautrec fails to become credible before reaching a sudden and definitive conclusion. It fumbles past its hero as a real figure to feed him such explicit literary dialogue as "The streets of Paris have taught you to

strike fast and draw blood first," and moralizes on the topics of love, alcoholism, and appreciation of art.

Lautrec was a wealthy nobleman, grotesquely misshapen and a chronic drunkard. After his first affair with a prostitute (Colette Marchand) who is too warped to value Lautrec's love but who wields a devastating power over him, the crippled count takes up with a virtuous dress model (chinless beauty Suzanne Flon). You see them sightseeing in Parisian settings until, incomprehensibly, she decides the smitten Lautrec will never love her and leaves him with a torch to carry the rest of his days. Meanwhile, the picture of Lautrec as an artist has been built up by such disintegrated maneuvers as having the camera travel down to his flying pencil on a cafe's tablecloth, dance over the paintings that cover his studio walls, document the production of a poster, dart about kiosks, and peer over shoulders at his *vernisage*.

Lautrec's personal drama might have been more absorbing if Ferrer had not been incarcerated in his make-up, which involved the binding of his legs to make him as short as the four-foot-eight painter, as well as elaborate facial changes. On those occasions when the camera digs into his face it unearths nothing more informative than a highly inscrutable expression. Certainly Huston

as director and co-author compensated for the fact that his main character couldn't zip around on his stunted legs with avid camera movement and prodigious exuberance on the part of the other performers. Marchand, for instance, literally dances through her role—jerking, slouching, making eccentric patterns with her arms as though she were playing to a spastic nickelodeon piano. As for Miss Flon, I've seldom seen an actress with greater presence or stature in a role remarkable for its unimportant activity.

The big bone I pick with all this entertainment is that it attempts to idealize Lautrec for his deficiencies and to simplify the tale of the artist by implying that genius in painting is a by-product of painful experience. And despite the iron discipline of Huston's direction, it frequently becomes too brightly emphatic; one feels that the charming groups of blondes and redheads who bounce about with such hilarious gaiety are afraid to relax for fear the movie will run down like a clock that needs winding.

Music

B. H. Haggin

AT THE Boston Symphony's first New York concert under Cantelli's direction one heard a beautiful instrument beautifully used by a conductor with not only the required technical powers but other qualities that made him especially well suited to this orchestra. Refinement is the Boston Symphony's distinctive characteristic—the refinement of sonority and execution that Koussevitzky brought to a point of breathtaking virtuosity; and Koussevitzky himself couldn't have produced a more dazzling performance of Stravinsky's "Jeu de cartes." But the performances this time had in addition Cantelli's refinement of musical conception—this in Tchaikovsky's Fifth no less than in Haydn's No. 93, in Rossini's "Semiramide" Overture no less than in the Stravinsky piece. Each work came out as something clearly and beautifully shaped; and this was exciting to hear; but there were also the youthful freshness and purity of intention and taste that shine through and move one in Cantelli's performances. In all, a great occasion.

A few days earlier I heard a "Rigoletto" at the Metropolitan that also turned out to be something of an occasion. I discussed the new production last year after a performance with a substitute cast; but this time there were two of the original cast, Hilda Gueden and Leonard Warren, and a substitute, Jussi Bjoerling, better than the original

tenor; and I expect it to be a long time before I again hear this opera sung as it was that night. I have in mind not only the beauty of the voices—of Gueden's silvery soprano, Bjoerling's lustrous tenor, Warren's sumptuous baritone—but the way they were used in the phrasing of the music, particularly in the duets of the second act.

With all this to delight the ear there was a good deal that disturbed the eye. Some of it resulted from Bjoerling's and Warren's ineffectiveness and ineptitude on the stage; some from the fact that Bjoerling was having to find his way about in an unfamiliar production; some possibly from the fact that Warren by this time may have been doing things of his own devising rather than of the director's; some undoubtedly from Herbert Graf's original direction; some even from Eugene Berman's wonderful sets. And some, of course, initially from the blatant inconsistencies and improbabilities of the libretto. I'll grant that a "Rigoletto" which makes coherent sense throughout is beyond human powers; but not a "Rigoletto" that would make sense at some points where Graf's production offers nonsense.

This has occurred to me to add to what I said recently about Schnabel's playing: that the performer's job is to make the listener aware of what happens in a piece of music—which he can do only if he is aware of it himself; and that from their performances it is evi-

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dent that Schnabel is aware of things happening in Beethoven's music that Solomon is wholly unaware of.

Chopin's great Sonata Opus 58 is played by Kapell, on an RCA Victor record, not just with the traditional distorting rubatos but with an additional extravagance in the distortion that gives the impression of a throwing of emotional weight around. And his playing in a group of Mazurkas also is excessively mannered.

Together with an excellent LP transference of Rubinstein's 1947 performance of Chopin's Sonata Opus 35—in which there is occasional blurred execution as well as the usual distortion—Victor gives us his newly recorded performances of Debussy's "Poissons d'or," "La Cathédrale engloutie," "La Fille aux cheveux de lin," "Masques," "La Terrasse des audiences au clair de lune," and "Ondine." Having heard "Poissons d'or" played with sharply flashing sonorities and figurations that evoked images of its subject, I find unsatisfying a performance in a delicate rubato style suitable for a nineteenth-century salon piece; and this style is no more suitable for the other Debussy pieces.

Norman Dello Joio's Symphony "The Triumph of St. Joan" is performed well on a Columbia record by Robert Whitney with the Louisville Orchestra which commissioned it. In the first movement, *The Maid*, and the third, *The Saint*, the elaborately discordant writing has no expressive relation to the titles that I can hear nor any intrinsic interest; but it produces a recognizable battle soundtrack for the second movement, *The Warrior*. Villa-Lobos's "The Erosion" is on the reverse side.

Even if the summary of the action of the ballet "Punch and the Child" on the envelope were accurate it couldn't be sufficiently correlated with the point-to-point invention in Richard Arnell's excellent score to give this the coherence it doesn't have when heard by itself. On the other hand the Suite from Lord Berners's music for "The Triumph of Neptune" offers pleasantly inconsequential pieces that are complete entities. Beecham's performances with his Royal Philharmonic on the Columbia record seem good.

Some of the music from Virgil Thomson's fine opera "The Mother of

Us All" that he has arranged in a suite for orchestra also needs the stage action. It is played well on the Columbia record by the Werner Janssen Orchestra. Thomson's Cello Concerto, on the same record, is a good-humored piece which

characteristically repeats rather than develops its engaging hymn tunes. Luigi Silva's playing is dry-toned but otherwise excellent; the orchestra is occasionally distant and barely audible behind the cello.

Letters

Toward Peace

Dear Sirs: The conclusion of Robert S. Lynd's article *Whose Wars?* in *The Nation* for December 27, 1952, raises the question of a democratic nation's right to wage imperialist wars and to conscript young men for such wars. In an age when conformity is so generally taken for granted, it is refreshing to have an educator of high standing openly suggest that in given circumstances refusal of military service may be a politically useful and efficacious, as well as conscientious, act. As Dr. Lynd says, the citizen must "brace his feet" and ask why he should become a soldier unless the government convinces him that "more war in the present state of the world is intelligent and democratically responsible." He must also take the further step and refuse to serve until the question is answered to his satisfaction. Governments, and in particular the military, are notoriously inattentive to academic questions.

The question then arises: What would result from such a stand by democratic youth and their elders, and what policy would be substituted for one which involves us "in a rapidly broadening counter-war against the long overdue colonial revolution," in which, as E. H. Carr points out, Russia is by no means the prime mover though it profits from the clash between Asia and the Western world. . . .

The great value of Dr. Lynd's query addressed to American youth is that it brings into the open the need to make a drastic choice at this point: in other words, what might be called the need to develop a "peace" movement which accepts the fact that in the present period such a movement must be radically anti-militarist—as all European, and to some extent American, Socialist, and labor forces were before 1914; must be on the side of the great popular revolutions and therefore independent of both the Russian and American power blocs; and must recognize that since the situation in the world today is a revolu-

tionary one, peace cannot flow from reactionary policies. Is it not possible to bring together for serious discussion various elements, first here and then also in other countries, who start from some such basis as this?

New York

A. J. MUSTE

Disagrees with Farber . . .

Dear Sirs: Last night I went to see the South African movie, "Pennywhistle Blues," at the recommendation of your movie critic, Manny Farber, who listed it among the best pictures of 1952 in your January 17 issue. I was amazed and disgusted to find some of the most vicious racist propaganda I've seen on the screen—an hour-long development of the Negro stereotype from which Hollywood seems finally to be getting away.

At the opening we are shown a few scenes in Johannesburg. A serious, cultured voice tells us that the natives have flocked to the white man's city to do his heavy labor and menial tasks. And then when he tells us they have brought with them many tribal costumes and customs, we see Negroes wearing zoot suits, jitterbugging on sidewalks, and shooting craps in doorways.

Most of the film is laid in Alexandra, an all-Negro community of shacks outside Johannesburg. The narrator informs us that Alexandra has a population of

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60,000, of which 40,000 seem to be children. The people are pictured as a naive, irresponsible, happy-go-lucky lot who never walk when they can shuffle or run when they can gallop and who break into mass singing and jitterbugging at the drop of a hat. They would be happy in their poverty, we can see, if it were not for the few exploiters among them. Frustrated by their ghetto existence? Don't be ridiculous.

Nor is the film directed exclusively at Negroes. The greedy money lender is named Isaac and has the exaggerated features used in caricatures of the Jew in American hate propaganda.

Was Mr. Farber sleeping? This is not merely a disagreement over taste or the artistic merits of a movie. The point is that it is shameful for *The Nation*, usually in the vanguard in the fight against bigotry and prejudice, to recommend a picture of this kind. Any *Nation* writer who fails to brand this film for what it is—an effort to introduce Malanist race propaganda into the United States—is not worth his salt.

Minneapolis, Minn. WILL HERTZ

... Who Replies

Dear Sirs: This kind of criticism of my criticism displays a mentality already familiar to me in those who deplore "Birth of a Nation" on the one hand, and "Limelight" on the other. At this stage in the development of the film medium I am no longer inclined to cope with interpretations of the type Mr. Hertz offers, and will only say that "Pennywhistle Blues," a film which I listed as "Also Placed," has a loose-jointed freshness not elsewhere found this year. It was not, so far as I can see, contaminated by or in any way related to the "bigotry" Mr. Hertz chooses to read into the film to the exclusion of all else.

MANNY FARBER

New York

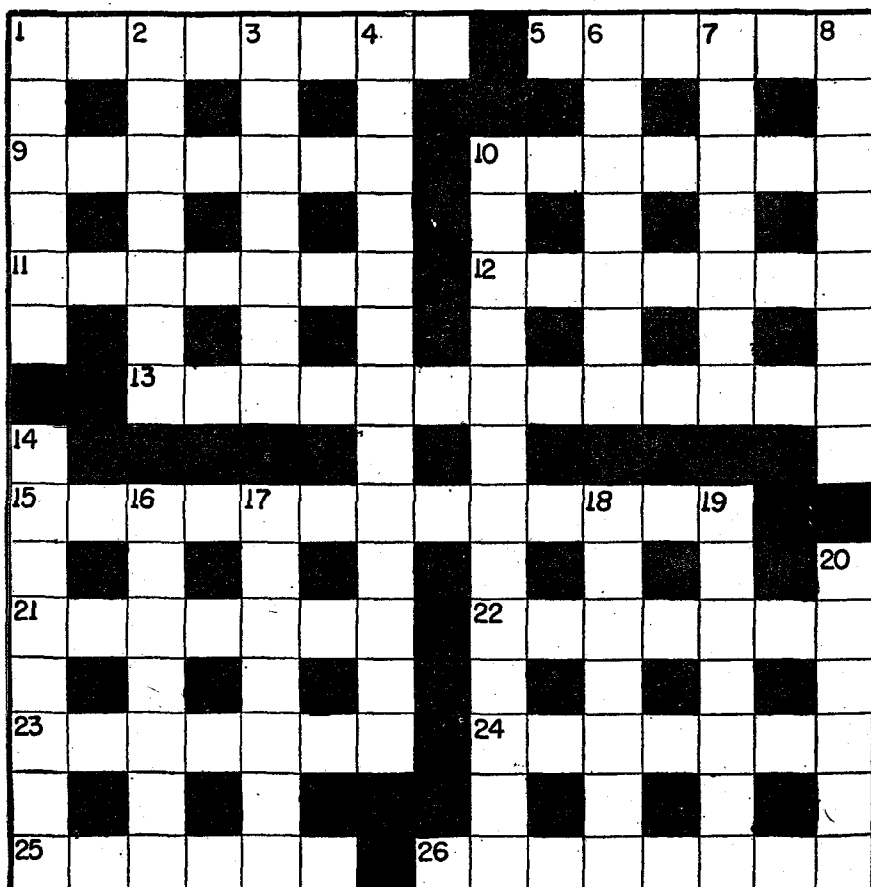
Mile-High Hysteria

Dear Sirs: I am a thirteen-year-old boy who is just starting high school. Since my Dad has a subscription to *The Nation*, I read most of it, in addition to the comic books and other "literature" which I read.

Last month I went down to the newsstand and purchased a *Captain Marvel Comics* magazine. The first story was about an ugly Communist evil genius in Korea who by means of his hideous inventions destroyed U. N. soldiers like flies. Last week my ten-year-old brother

Crossword Puzzle No. 505

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Where to win turkeys? (Some can't find the plate with them.) (8)
- 5 A thing like the one Tennyson suggested we follow? (6)
- 9 A same sort might be similar. (7)
- 10 Does it suggest not quite 12 inches of stalk? (7)
- 11 See 6 down.
- 12 The way whoever wakes in England sees things in leaf, according to Browning. (7)
- 13 2, perhaps but then it wouldn't be material! (4, 3, 6)
- 15 Praises a famous English house with a sort of date in the middle. (13)
- 21 Where even uprights could be knocked down. (7)
- 22 Might be exemplified by dnomaid. (7)
- 23 This is one pier replaced by the engineer. (7)
- 24 Figurative description. (7)
- 25 An explorer does to get disguised. (2, 4)
- 26 A trouble-maker is slightly more than restless in the orchestra. (8)

DOWN

- 1 The way you might attribute things looks like the devil to an Indian. (6)
- 2 The celibate sort aren't full of 13. (7)
- 8 Omnipotent, or just singular apparel for the working man? (7)

- 4 He doesn't necessarily cultivate pick-ups! (5, 8)
- 6 and 11 Not a supplication made during German financial crises. (3, 4, 3, 4)
- 7 Sort of clean an afterthought up with it. (7)
- 8 Artificial harbor, tree, or bush. (8)
- 10 Do silversmiths, when their best efforts are beaten? (5, 8)
- 14 Old ships (and sometimes the treaties covering them) might be. (8)
- 16 They makes letters sound long. (7)
- 17 Pressing. (7)
- 18 Shakespeare alone bewept his state, when it was like this. (7)
- 19 Able to pay for an opening with a note first. (7)
- 20 Petition, or one who makes it. (6)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 504

ACROSS:—4 MARJORAM; 10 and 19 DIPLOMATIC; 11 and 1 A PRETTY PICKLE; 12 LOTUS; 14 STALL; 15 and 31 RUN-OF-THE-MINE; 17 NECKTIES; 21 SPARRER; 23 and 26 COMIC STRIP; 28 and 13 WANTON; 29 and 30 PEDAL PUSHERS; 32 TUSKEGEE; 33 YEASTY.

DOWN:—1 PEDDLERS; 2 CAPSTAN; 3 LOOPS; 5 AGAIN; 6 JERKS; 7 RETRACE; 8 MAY FLY; 9 FASTENER; 16 and 27 FUR PIECE; 18 CABINETS; 20 SCULLERY; 22 PERUSES; 24 MIDDIES; 25 ASHPIT; 28 WASTE; 29 PLEBE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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purchased a *Marvel Family Comics*
magazine. This time the villain was a
"Commie"—to quote the book—who
again killed off "Yankee dogs" like
flies. He was a mile high.

It would seem to me that the pub-
lishers (Fawcett Publications, Inc.) are
simply copying the Communists because
they try to create horrible impressions
of us Americans. It also helps to con-
tribute to the mass hysteria we are in.

Chicago, Ill. MALCOLM SHERMAN

Aid for Adlai

Dear Sirs: At the request of Harold R.
Wolfe, chairman of Dollars for Sense,
I am writing to thank you for calling
my attention to the movement and mak-
ing it possible for me to contribute to it.

Since the new Administration has
promised to take us places, I believe
Governor Stevenson, who conducted his
recent campaign in such a dignified
manner, should go on the air from time
to time and tell us just whither we are
being taken, a matter in which all of us
are interested in these critical times.

Sedona, Ariz. L. B. WOODCOCK

How the Press Can Help

Dear Sirs: This is to advise you that the
Loyalty Security Appeals Board has re-
instated Frank Grzelak, with full pay,
to his position as draftsman at the Jeffer-
sonville, Indiana, Quartermaster Depot.

Robert W. Zollinger and I, his at-
torneys, would like to express our thanks
to you for your article in his behalf
[Who's Your Wife? Around the
U. S. A. June 21, 1952].

Louisville, Ky. GROVER G. SALES

Busy Little Busbey

Dear Sirs: According to the Chicago
Tribune of January 30, Representative
Busbey of Illinois had this to say con-
cerning the death of John C. Mont-
gomery, head of the Finnish desk of the
State Department:

It may be no more than a coincidence
that he worked in a government agency
where Communists, Communist sympa-
thizers, and poor loyalty risks have
plagued our security. . . . In view of the
fact that Montgomery brought his own
life to an end, we should not assume that
he was innocent of such associations.

It appears that the late Mr. Mont-
gomery is to be given no peace, even in
his grave.

Evanston, Ill. RICHARD MORGAN

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